## Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 211961 ORIGIN ACDA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-10 ISO-00 PM-05 DLOS-09 IO-13 NSC-05 SP-02 SS-15 L-03 CIAE-00 INR-10 NSAE-00 DODE-00 SMS-01 OIC-02 /100 R

DRAFTED BY ACDA/WEC/AT: W DURCH;SM

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DESIRED DISTRIBUTION

ACDA/WEC:HIRSCHFELD;WEC/AT:PLATT;STATE/PM/SSP:MANTEL;ER/RA:MCNUTT

------068891 212130Z /64

P R 212012Z AUG 78 FM SECSTATE WASHDC TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA PRIORITY INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

SECRETSTATE 211961

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, ID, UR

SUBJECT: CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER (CAT) TALKS BRIEFING

- 1. ON AUGUST 18, ACDA BRIEFED EMBASSY OF INDONESIA POLITICAL COUNSELOR HUSEIN JUSUF ON US-SOVIET CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER TALKS (CAT). JUSUF TOOK OPPORTUNITY OF BRIEFING TO MAKE A FORMAL ORAL REQUEST FOR US SUPPORT OF INDONESIAN CANDIDACY ON UN COMMITTEE ON DISARMAMENT. HE WAS ASSURED THAT HIS REQUEST WOULD BE CONVEYED TO THE PROPER US AUTHORITIES.
- 2. FOR EMBASSY'S INFORMATION, TEXT OF TALKING POINTS USED AT BRIEFING FOLLOWS:
- A. BACKGROUND. THE US AND SOVIETS HAVE MET THREE TIMES TO DISCUSS CONVENTIONAL ARMS RESTRAINT. A SUBSTANTIVE DIALOGUE SECRET

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REALLY BEGAN ONLY IN MAY, AFTER WHICH THE SIDES ISSUED A COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH THEY AGREED (1) THAT THE PROBLEM OF LIMITING ARMS TRANSFERS WAS URGENT A.D (2) TO HOLD REGULARLY SCHEDULED MEETINGS TO EXPLORE CONCRETE MEASURES THAT COULD BE TAKEN.

-- IN MAY THE SSOD ADOPTED A PROGRAM OF ACTION CALLING

FOR CONSULTATIONS AMONG SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS ON LIMITING ARMS TRANSFERS. US-SOVIET BILATERAL MEETINGS REPRESENT AN ATTEMPT TO BEGIN TO IMPLEMENT THAT UN MANDATE.
-- EVENTS IN LATIN AMERICA, SUCH AS THE JUNE 22 DECLARATION BY THE EIGHT SIGNATORIES OF THE 1974 DECLARATION OF AYACUCHO CALLING FOR A LATIN AMERICAN AGREEMENT LIMITING CONVENTIONAL ARMS AND THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS OF MEXICO TOWARD THE SAME END, ALSO GIVE IMPETUS TO WORK OF RESTRAINING ARMS TRANSFERS.

## B. OVERALL FRAMEWORK FOR RESTRAINT

THE US OUTLINED A FRAMEWORK OF RESTRAINT TO THE SOVIETS, AS A WAY OF FOCUSING THE DELIBERATIONS. THE PROPOSED FRAMEWORK CONSISTS OF THREE PARTS.

- 1. POLITICAL/LEGAL CRITERIA
- -- THESE CRITERIA WOULD BE BASED ON THE UN CHARTER, UN RESOLUTIONS, AND OTHER INTERNATIONALLY AGREED DOCUMENTS.
- -- THEY SHOULD SERVE TWO PURPOSES: (1) IDENTIFY-ING LEGAL CONSTRAINTS ON ARMS TRANSFERS; AND (2) IDENTIFY-ING RELEVANT POLITICAL FACTORS TO BE TAKEH INTO ACCOUNT IN MAKING ARMS TRANSFER DECISIONS.

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- -- A GOOD BASIS EXISTS FOR THE ELABORATION OF MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE LANGUAGE.
- 2. MILITARY/TECHNICAL CRITERIA
- -- COMMONLY AGREED MILITARY/TECHNICAL CRITERIA TO SET BOUNDARIES ON THE TYPES AND AMOUNTS OF WEAPONS TO BE PROVIDED.
- -- THESE CRITERIA ARE EQUALLY AS IMPORTANT AS POLITICAL/LEGAL CRITERIA; AND AGREEMENT ON BOTH TYPES OF CRITERIA IS ESSENTIAL IN ORDER TO HAVE A COHERENT AND COMPREHENSIVE FRAMEWORK FOR RESTRAINT.
- 3. REGIONAL APPLICATION
- -- ARRANGEMENTS TO APPLY CRITERIA IN REGIONAL CONTEXTS.
- -- IT IS IMPORTANT TO GIVE SUBSTANCE TO CRITERIA
  THAT WOULD OTHERWISE BE GENERAL AND ABSTRACT STATEMENTS OF
  INTEREST, SUBJECT TO MANY DIFFERENT INTERPRETATIONS.

## C. INTERIM RESTRAINT REGIME

- --BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT, IN ADVANCE OF FINAL AGREE-MENT ON CRITERIA, IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE TO REACH INTERIM RESTRAINT ARRANGEMENTS FOR SPECIFIC REGIONS.
- -- A BASIS WAS LAID THAT SUCHARRANGEMENTSMIGHT CONSIST OF LISTS OF WEAPONS TO BE RESTRAINED.
- -- BOTH SIDES AGREED IT WAS POSSIBLE TO DISCUSS ANY REGION OR SUB-REGION OF THE WORLD, PROVIDED THEY WERE NOT ARTIFICIALLY CONTRIVED.

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- D. ROLE OF OTHER SUPPLIERS/RECIPIENTS
- -- BOTH SIDES RECOGNIZED THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS IN DEVELOPING AND/OR SUPPORTING ANY RESTRAINT REGIME.
- -- BOTH SIDES WERE HOPEFUL THAT OTHER SUPPLIERS AND RECIPIENTS WOULD FIND IT IN THEIR INTERESTS TO SUPPORT ARMS TRANSFER RESTRAINT.
- -- WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS OUR POSITION THAT THE LEGITIMATE DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS OF RECIPIENTS MUST BE MET.
- E. ASSESSMENT OF ROUND III AND FUTURE PROSPECTS
- -- THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT TOWARD A COMMON UNDERSTANDING OF GENERAL GUIDELINES OR CRITERIA FOR RESTRAINT IN ARMS TRANSFERS.
- -- THE SOVIETS AGAIN APPEARED TO TAKE THESE DISCUSSIONS SERIOUSLY. HOWEVER, THE NEXT ROUND -- TENTATIVELY PLANNED FOR DECEMBER TO ENABLE BOTH SIDES TO UNDERTAKE THOROUGH PREPARATIONS -- WILL PROVIDE A TEST OF THE PROSPECTS FOR NEAR-TERM SUCCESS OF CAT.

(END TEXT OF TALKING POINTS.)

3. JUSUF ASKED IF OTHER ASEAN COUNTRIES WERE BEING SIMILARLY BRIEFED AND WAS TOLD THEY WERE. HE ASKED WHETHER US MILITARY AID TO GOI WOULD BE AFFECTED BY CAT, AND SAID GOI SUPPORTED OUR PROPOSALS PROVIDED THEY DID NOT AFFECT THE COUNTRY'S ABILITY TO MODERNIZE ITS ARMED FORCES TO COUNTER SECRET

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THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF VIETNAM.

4. ACDA (HIRSCHFELD) EXPLAINED THAT WE HOPED CAT WOULD SUPPORT CURRENT US RESTRAINT POLICY, WHICH ANTICIPATED DECLININ; ARMS TRANSFERS OVER TIME, RATHER THAN IMPOSE NEW KINDS OF RESTRICTIONS. CAT TALKS WOULD NOT AFFECT CURRENT ARMS TRANSFER OBLIGATIONS TO GOI, AND WE HAVE MADE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT THE LEGITIMATE DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS OF RECIPIENTS MUST BE MET. HE EMPHASIZED POTENTIAL ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF RESTRAINT, AND NEED FOR SUPPLIER/RECIPIENT COOPERATION. CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X Capture Date: 01 jan 1994 Channel Indicators: n/a

**Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED** Concepts: ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS

Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 21 aug 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note: Disposition Action: RELEASED Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW

Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014 Disposition Event: Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE211961
Document Source: COP

**Document Unique ID: 00** Drafter: W DURCH;SM Enclosure: n/a Executive Order: GS

Errors: N/A **Expiration:** 

Film Number: D780341-0982

Format: TEL From: STATE

Handling Restrictions: n/a

Image Path: ISecure: 1

Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780841/aaaabibg.tel

Line Count: 186 Litigation Code IDs: Litigation Codes:

Litigation Codes. Litigation History: Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM Message ID: 7919dd5f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc Office: ORIGIN ACDA

Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a Previous Classification: SECRET Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a

Reference: n/a Retention: 0

Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED Review Content Flags:

Review Date: 06 may 2005 Review Event: Review Exemptions: n/a

**Review Media Identifier:** Review Release Date: n/a Review Release Event: n/a **Review Transfer Date:** Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a

SAS ID: 1674290 Secure: OPEN Status: NATIVE

Subject: CONVENTIONAL ARMS TRANSFER (CAT) TALKS BRIEFING

TAGS: PARM, PCAT, ID, UR

To: JAKARTA Type: TE

vdkvgwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/7919dd5f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc

Review Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014

Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014